

Tradition, Archaeology and Linguistics:
on the migrations between Hawaii, Tahiti
and New Zealand

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Introduction

The recurring interest of modern scholars in the validity and authenticity of Polynesian Oral Traditions has rekindled my personal interest in reviewing records of early European research, comments, and traditional lore concerning the migrations made in the Pacific.

The perplexing search for, even bits of, valid testimony or documentation in the traditions has been one of intensive and progressive inquiry within the last few decades. The 'old theories' of the early historians and researchers have not all withstood the element of time. Some theories have been discarded, while others have remained stable and bona fide. But the quest to unravel the ambiguity of Polynesian origins, settlement and 'pre-historic' contact will continue to gnaw at all who desire to know - whether the query be one of personal ambition or scholastic gain - that desire will persevere.

Greater perceptivity of Polynesian History has been immensely aided by the contributions made by varying cross-cultural studies in Anthropology, Ethnobotany, History, Religion, etc., over the years, that have relayed data, minute as it may have been, that has been priceless to our knowledge and understanding.

It is with a hopeful disposition that the contents of this paper, in the process of re-examining the documented history, may stimulate inspiration for a re-surveillance of the Oral Traditions; to help illumine the chronicling of 'pre-historic Polynesian history.'

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to ascertain, with the assistance and support of recent archaeological and linguistic evidence, a relative reliability in the Maori Traditions concerning the contact made between Hawaii and New Zealand.

Traditional Voyages

Archaeological and linguistic studies of initial settlement and discovery in Eastern Polynesia have yielded dates - so close in agreement - that they, either, betoken a relative closeness in settlement dates as (1) coincidental or (2) that 'unplanned-drift voyages' across the Equator (either northward or southward) played a very minor role in settlement and discovery, but that planned voyages were the significant factor. Oceanographic research of the main ocean and wind currents of each hemisphere attest to a greater improbability of drift voyages across the Equator. A craft would have had to drift through three major Equatorial wind and ocean currents (South Equatorial: flows westward 15-25 miles per day, Equatorial Counter Current: flows eastward 15-25 MPD, North Equatorial Current: flows westward 10-20 MPD.) [National Geographic, 1974.] on its northward or southward voyage, therefore, to surmount these obstacles, one must have had to 'navigate' through the currents; indicating a voyage of intention rather than one of chance.

Traditional lore bequeaths records that intentional voyaging was the customary case. The documentations relate of voyages of

varying lengths, of various purposes and to a variety of locations. The traditions have provided us with records of early voyages from (1) Samoa-Fiji-Tonga to Hawaii * [Irapanga, Naea, Paao], (2) Hawaii to Samoa * [Kauluakalana, Hema of Oahu], (3) the long voyages from "the south", supposedly, directly to Hawaii * [Hawaii Loa, Irapanga, Paumakua, Hua], (4) Tahiti to Hawaii * [Hawaii Loa, Moikeha, Laamaikahiki], (5) Hawaii to Tahiti * [Tamaarikinui, Wha-tonga, Naea, Kila, Hineahu, Laamaikahiki, Kauluakalana], (6) Tahiti to New Zealand * [Kupe, Tamateanui, Tamaarikinui], (7) New Zealand to Tahiti * [Kupe], (8) Rarotonga to Tahiti * [Tangiia, Karika], (9) Rarotonga to New Zealand * [Tamaarikinui], (10) Rarotonga to Hawaii * [Naea], and (11) from Hawaii via Raiatea-Rarotonga to New Zealand * [Tamaarikinui].

The Earliest Discoverer

One of the first references to settlement in Hawaii, in Hawaiian traditions, is in the Legend of Hawaii Loa. It states that he was one of four sons of Anianikalani (k) and Kameenuihikina (w), the pristine nomadic ancestors of the Hawaiian Family, who had begun spreading from their ancient homeland to the eastern most shores of KAPAKAPA UA A KANE - an intermittant biosphere. Anianikalani was said to be of the last generation of ruling chiefs on the ancient homeland before the migrations eastward.

Hawaii Loa also had three brothers - two of whom were credited with peopling other islands of the Pacific environment. Ki (whom both Fornander and S.P.Smith believe is the same Kii of the Tahitian genealogies) is credited in the legend as being the ancestor

of the people of Tahiti, Borabora, Huahine, Tahaaa, Raiatea and Moorea. Kanaloa - the second brother - is believed to be the ancestor of the people of Nukuhiwa, Uapou, Tahuata, and Hiwaoa, but the third brother, Laakapu, is not credited as an ancestor to any group.

Ki

Ki, or kii, is acclaimed in Tahitian and Marquesan mythology as the progenitor of their races; while the Hawaii Loa Legend, although views him in the same role as a forefather, regards him from a mundane perspective. All three cultures seem to be in agreement, though, that this predecessor was a forebearer of the East Polynesian people. This insinuates the possibility that Kii may actually have been a mortal, but had been apotheosized by the Tahitians and Marquesans and not the Hawaiians.

In reality, Fornander does give an explication for the peopling of the islands mentioned in the legend concerning the derivation of the original people; an explanation that has been earnestly disputed by Barrère [PAR (3):1971] when she refutes:

"The Hawaii Loa story entered the realm of pure invention in their (Kamakau and Kepelino) attempts to account for the peopling of the Hawaiian Islands. Kepelino's story as written in 1868 is a plausibly told legend, but the embellishments and 'biographical' material found in Fornanders notes (1919-1920, 6 (2):271,275,278,279,280-281) reveal the extent of the invention. They also disclose a knowledge of Pacific Geography and of an ethnic relationship among polynesian peoples that were unknown to the Hawaiians before Western contact, and so could hardly have been incorporated in an authentic tradition."

Emory, too, comments on the Hawaii Loa Legend:

"It has every appearance of a post European neo-myth, of which there are many composed in answer to questions and suggestions made by foriegners, as representing reliable ancient Hawaiian Traditions, and therefore as having significance for historical reconstruction, it is valueless."

It may be true that 'embellishments' and 'composed answers to questions' were incorporated by Kamakau and Kepelino into the Hawaiian Genealogies for the legend in order to create a parallel with the Biblical Genealogy of Noah, and to claim credit for the settlement of the other islands of East Polynesia but the point of view on the lack of Hawaiian geographical knowledge is inhibitive. An assessment of the total knowledge of the Hawaiian People was never accomplished when that 'ancient knowledge' flourished in full culture. What has been recorded as history today, is in reality, remnants of a culture influenced by a new demesne.

Cartwright [JPS 38 (2):1929], also, acknowledged the fact that there had been an adulteration of the legend with Biblical History, but believed that the folktale was a summary of statements contained in many other Hawaiian legends and genealogies. Yet for him, the appearance of the name of 'Kunuiakea' was a bit of substantial evidence that the legend was connected with the Hawaiian Islands and that it was not totally valueless.

In spite of Emory and Barrère's views that the Legend is 'valueless' and 'of the realm of pure invention', a very significant point of interest still exists in the legend that may help verify dabs of unadulterated tradition. The account concerning Hawaii Loa's fifth voyage to Tahiti relates:

"On this outward voyage from Hawaii, the star called Ke Alii o Kona i Ka Lewa (Canopus) and the stars of the Hoku Kea o Ka Mole Honua (Southern Cross) were those by which he shaped his course for Tahiti and those other islands. They left from LAE O KALAE in Ka'u (South Cape of Hawaii) and thither they returned."

He returned with Tunuiaeteatua, the first born son of his brother Ki, who married Oahu (Hawaii Loa's daughter) and they had a son named Kunuiakea, who was born at Keauhou, Puna, Hawaii.

Cartwright [JPS 38 (2):113-114] authenticates this family name stating: "The birth of Kunuiakea at Keauhou, in Puna on the island of Hawaii, is an accepted event in Hawaiian History, and the name Kunuiakea is a Hawaiian ancestral name. Albert Kunuiakea, who died in Honolulu in 1903, was of a high chieftain family and bore the name of an ancestor."

Tunuiateatua and Kukalaniehu

The legend then continues ~~DX~~:

"Kunuiakea's son, Keliialia and grandson, Kemilia, were born at Tahiti but his great grandson, Keliiku (Eleeleualani) was born on Hawaii. Eleeleualani lived with Kaupealii, and Kukalaniehu, a son was born. He lived with Kahakauakoko and Papahanaumoku was born."

In the transcribed Tahitian genealogies, published by Teuira Henry [1928:247-273], records of the names of Keliialia and Kemilia were not found. The records, themselves, may not represent the complete genealogical registry of Tahiti. The original copy of the published records ~~were~~ ^{was} lost, thus, making verification of the names impossible, but a Tunuiaeteatua (Hawaiian: Tunuiateatua) is

registered in the genealogy of the Pomare Family [See: Pomare Genealogy in Tahiti, p. i]. That Punuiaiteatua's life is assigned to the year 1734 - a period too late in time to be the same Punuiaiteatua mentioned in the Fornander account. Similarly, the names 'Eleeleualani and Kaoupealii' have not been found in the genealogical records ~~of~~ which I was able to view. Time has not permitted me to 'verify' these names in Tahiti or Hawaii, but the names of Kahakauakoko, Papanuihanaumoku and Kukalaniehu are registered in the genealogies of Hawaii's chiefs.

The genealogies recorded by Malo [1951:238] , Kamakau [1961: 434-436] and Fornander, closely agree in the succession of chiefs from the time of Wakea to Kamehameha I. The genealogies antedate Kukalaniehu's life time at seventy five generations before the death of Kamehameha I (1819); allowing an approximate date - based on the measure of 20 years per generation - of A.D. 319 for Kukalaniehu and A.D. 259 for Hawaii Loa. [See: Hawaiian Genealogies, p. ii].

If the approximation of these dates ^{is} ~~are~~ acceptable, it would indicate that both men lived in propinquity to an early period of cross-cultural trans-pacific communications in Eastern and Marginal Polynesia. But more significant, they lived in close proximity to the time concurrent with the dates from archaeological studies in the Ka'u district of Hawaii. The fact that the Legend of Hawaii Loa mentions the point, Ka lae o Kalae, as the spot where the earliest discoverer arrived; and from where the earliest carbon-14 dates have been found, insinuates that this part, at least,

of the tradition should be valued.

Archaeological Research

Historians of the past have believed that the migrations or movements of the Polynesians into the Pacific had started within the first millennium A.D., but "the modern opinion on the origin of the Polynesians is that they derive from somewhere in Eastern Indonesia or the Philippines, and migrated through Melanesia into Polynesia between 2000 and 1000 B.C." [Bellows, 1978:20.]

Archaeology has been a major influential factor in bringing about a change of opinion concerning the period of settlement in Polynesia, but linguistics, too, has also helped to substantiate the dates of the intervals of settlement and probable dispersal of the Polynesians. "Evidence" produced from these two fields of study ^{has} ~~have~~ (in some cases) acknowledged the record bequeathed by tradition. One such acknowledgement was reported in 1959:

"The most recent archaeological field work in Hawaii has produced much of importance for the clarification of the three problems mentioned above. [Traditional date of occupation, Origin of the Hawaiian occupation, The status of the Menehune] substantiating some, dispersing others. On the matter of dating the occupation of Hawaii, the genealogical dates may be as much as 1000 years in error, for the earliest radiocarbon date now available is A.D. 128 \pm 200 [range: 72 B.C. - A.D. 328.] (from South Point Shelter). This date is in excess of that previously expected by Emory for Hawaiian settlement, but is certainly not inconsistent with other dates for Eastern Polynesia. [Suggs, 1959: 766.]

Ka'u, Hawaii

The site referred to is South Point, Ka'u, Hawaii: an area where further archaeological studies in 1969 were made by Emory and Sinoto [PAR (8): 1969] with attempts to determine absolute dates for site findings by using carbon-14 and hydration rind samples. Three of the samples gave significant readings. (1) a douglas fir yielding a date of A.D. 1480 \pm 160, (2) a western red cedar with a reading of A.D. 750 \pm 325, and (3) a piece identified as 'local wood' which yielded a date of A.D. 125 \pm 27. Each sample represented a different stratified layer from which they were taken and, therefore, indicated three distinct periods of habitation - the oldest dated sample being withdrawn from the layer furthest below the surface.

This is, precisely, the same locality identified by Fornander in the Hawaii Loa Legend from where we have received the earliest dates resulting from carbon-14 and hydration rind samples.

Kelley [PAR (6):1969] defines the place name in her search for the history of that cape, saying, "In most early manuscripts, the term 'Kalae' refers to the general area at the southernmost tip of Hawaii Island as well as to its headland. The Coastal Geodetic Survey Maps use the term 'Kalae' for the headland and the adjacent land and coastal areas."

A chant of unknown age, given to Mary Kawena Puku'i in 1935 by her aunt, Keliiahue Kamali - a Kahuna Lapaaui (Medicinal Priestess) - of Waiohinu village, gives affirmation that that place was (at least at one time in the past) a place of fame:

Nani ka mana'o i hiki mai
E naue a e'ike ia Kalae
Ka lae kaulana o ka 'aina
E 'alo ana i ka ehū o ke kai.

A wonderful thought arose
to travel and to see Kalae
Kalae, famous point of land
facing the foamy sea.

If the Hawaii Loa Legend is of the 'realm of pure invention' or 'valueless', how can one account for the choice of that name and place in association with the earliest settler, and the earliest recorded dates of occupation in Hawaii? Was it purely accidental; the choice of that place name in tradition pure chance?

The approximate period of his lifetime, according to genealogical chronology (A.D.259), theoretically places him in acceptable range of the earliest archaeological dates from South Point.

The relative agreement in time does not authenticate or verify that Hawaii Loa was THE discoverer, but that the first settler and discoverer probably did arrive at Kalae, at least, within the initial period of discovery and settlement. Yet, the name "Hawaii Loa", even if it has been relegated to mythology today, pays tribute to the first discoverer (whoever he may have been) and is found elsewhere in the Hawaiian Chain; left behind perhaps in memory of his voyages and places of visitation - a tradition of the early Polynesian voyagers.

It has been left as a name of an ancient surfing area in Hanalei, Kaua'i [PEM, 1976:43], a name for a rock in the western headland of Makana, Kaua'i [Smith, 1915:21], a name for a hill (Pu'u o Hawaii Loa) on Mokapu Peninsula, Oahu - an area said, in legend, to have been one of the earliest sites of settlement on Oahu, and lastly, a name for the channel northwest of the island

of Nihoa [PEM, 1976:43.]

Strong archaeological evidence indicates a higher probability of contacts with Tahiti and the Marquesas, but artifacts resembling those of the New Zealand Maori have also been found in the Necker-Nihoa and Halawa Valley studies; such as a specimen of a bird snaring perch found on Necker Island, which Emory says:

"The nearest Polynesian equivalent to the remarkable stone artifact which lay partly exposed on the floor of the Bowl Cave is the bird snaring perch of New Zealand described by Best which shared, in common 1). a horizontal bar, 2). joined to a vertical bar which 3). projects downwards further than upwards. 4). the horizontal bar is hooked at the end. 5). the lower part of the vertical bar which is towards the horizontal bar is flattened to rest against some surface. It furnishes an example...of fine work in stone normally performed in wood." [Emory, 1928:26]

The 'uprights' found in that Necker-Nihoa study also hinted (to Emory) of Best's description of places in New Zealand "where rites were performed by native priests in an area marked by unworked stone slabs set directly in the ground". The adz, too, has been helpful in pointing out the probable cultural relationships within Polynesia, especially the 'Necker adzes' with a tang at an angle to the blade, which Emory declares, "excludes Central Polynesia [Samoa, Tonga, Niue] from the likely immediate sphere of influence but include Marginal Polynesia [Hawaii, Marquesas, Society Islands and New Zealand] where, alone in the Pacific this type of adz has been collected. The particular Necker variety of the adze is definitely limited to Hawaii, and yet, among Hawaiian adzes it is quite rare."

Halawa Valley, Moloka'i

Kirch and Kelley [1975:66] say that "there is evidence that several other sites on Hawaii (Ahukini, South Point), Maui (Eai-he'e, Waiehu, and Haleakala), Oahu (Bellows), and probably settlements on remote Nihoa and Necker Islands date to the same time period as the lower sector at site Al-3, Halawa; with the Nihoa-Necker adzes being virtually identical with those found at Halawa, Moloka'i [Emory, 1928] The artifacts found at Halawa, such as fishhook head-types and adzes, showed parallels with the Marquesas, Society Islands and New Zealand; and the remains of a round ended house found at the site also showed signs of commonness with South Island, New Zealand (as well as with the Chatham Islands, Rurutu, Tuamotus, Samoa, Fiji, New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands and Ponga). [Kirch, 1971.]

The ovate house at Halawa, Moloka'i represented an earlier East Polynesian influence (classified as of the 'Ceramic Phase') of Western Polynesian Culture which ended in Samoa in A.D. 200. [Bellwood, 1978:74] and the site was given a positive 95.45% estimated probability level that settlement in the valley occurred, at least, between A.D. 470 and A.D. 830 [Kirch, 1969:51] - dates far from the realm of the mythical or unbelievable.

The similarity of kinds of artifacts are representative of those periods of contact in which we, as Kirch suggests, "must leave open the possibility that proto-East Polynesian Culture was uniform and quickly dispersed to various marginal groups before major differentiation, which would make the determination of Pri-

mary settlement patterns very difficult indeed."

The 'uniform and quick dispersal' of proto-East Polynesian Culture is proclaimed by the Oral Traditions to have occurred intermittently over periods of time. Linguistics and archaeology sustain that such dispersals occurred between 1500 B.C. and A.D. 1400. [See Graph: East Polynesian Relationships, p. 14.]

Linguistic Studies

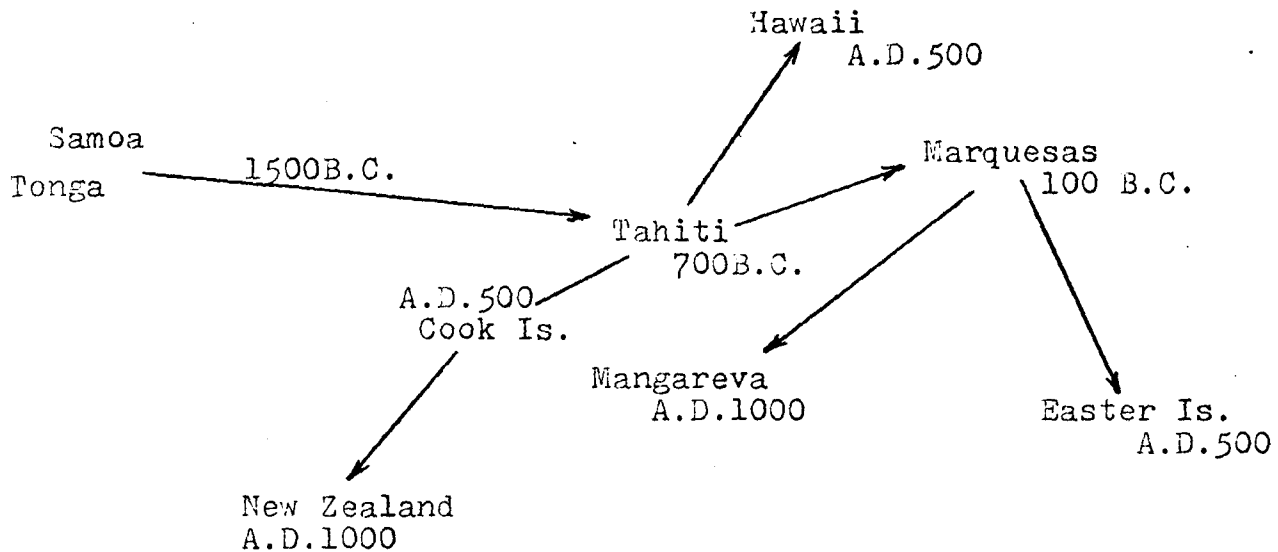
Linguistic studies of Basic Vocabulary Agreements in East Polynesia - based on the amount of language change, time involved and direction of spread; using a 100 and 200 word list, and a Total Vocabulary comparison - has revealed data on which theoretical dates of probable movement in East Polynesia may be applied to the migrations between Hawaii, Tahiti and New Zealand.

The dates, themselves, only indicate an approximation of initial settlement and demonstrate a hypothetical sequence of dispersal; as near as possible to chronological order.

The results of the study from the 100 word list disclosed a 92% agreement in vocabulary between Tahitian and Maori, an 88% agreement between Hawaiian and Tahitian, and an 85.5% agreement between Hawaiian and Maori. The 200 word list revealed a slight difference: showing a 73% agreement of Tahitian with Maori, 76% agreement of Tahitian with Hawaiian and a 71% agreement of Hawaiian with Maori.

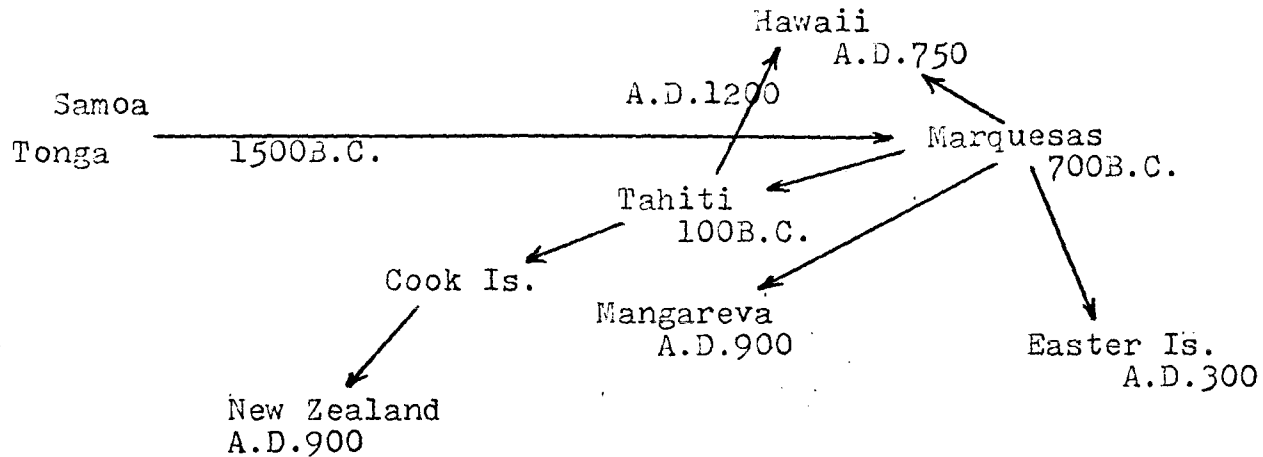
The total vocabulary shared between the respective languages were: 1,348 (Tahitian-Maori), 1,439 (Hawaiian-Tahitian) and 1,306

"East Polynesian Relationships: settlement pattern and time involved as indicated by Vocabulary agreements." [JPS 72 (2):83. Emory, K.P. 1963.]



Polynesian Settlement Pattern: implied by Linguistic data alone

Linguistic and Archaeological Evidence



(Hawaiian-Maori) Emory, [1963, JPS 72:82].

The data, interpreted, shows that "the 100 word list indicates that New Zealand was settled after Hawaii." The 200 word list shows Hawaii sharing a 3% higher agreement with Tahiti when it should, instead, show a higher Maori-Tahitian agreement. The total vocabulary agreement also favors Hawaii as being settled after New Zealand. Emory attributes this 'discrepancy' to his unequal familiarity with the Maori Language as compared to his knowledge of Hawaiian and Tahitian. The fact is that archaeological evidence - and even the traditions - indicate settlement in New Zealand having been made after settlement in Hawaii. Emory's response to the results of the comparisons is:

"The agreements are so close as to which was settled first [Hawaii or New Zealand] from Tahiti that all we can say from our figures is that they were settled close to the same time. In the dispersal to New Zealand and Hawaii..., Hawaii is fixed as settled by A.D. 500, and New Zealand from a little before A.D. 1000. Radio carbon dating to the present has indicated A.D. 500 for Hawaii and A.D. 1000 for New Zealand as likely dates of settlement, and at any rate, that Hawaii was reached before New Zealand. What seems probable is that the ancestors of the Maori of New Zealand left at about the same time, but arrived in New Zealand later through (sic) having paused in the Cook Islands which lie between, and that the Hawaiians recieved later migrants from Tahiti who introduced new developments in Tahitian Culture which had taken place since the Maoris left."
[Emory, 1963, JPS 72:86.]

Archaeological evidence found in the Society Islands by the Bishop Museum Expedition in 1961, has indicated the possibility of Hawaii having been, initially, settled from the Marquesas rather

than Tahiti. According to the archaeological and linguistic evidences combined "there, still, was cultural contact between the Hawaiian Islands and Tahiti after Hawaii's first settlement and subsequent to the spread from Tahiti to New Zealand." [Emory, 1963, JPS 72:96.]

If initial settlement in Hawaii occurred, first, from the Marquesas with secondary settlement and culture contact from Tahiti at a later period; and 'subsequent to the spread from Tahiti to New Zealand', it would disclose (hypothetically) that the Maori were not yet a distinct political, social and cultural entity, but still a part of that "early East Polynesian Culture" when voyages were being made to and from Tahiti. More significant, probably, is that it was the "Tahitic Period" of Maori Culture, when voyages were being made to and from Hawaii. The records retained, therefore, by the Maori may be the actual accounts of that "Tahitic Period" prior to the dispersal to New Zealand.

Maori Traditions

Maori Traditions have maintained that journeys of unique lengths were made - on occasions - to and from the islands of the Hawaiian Chain, and that they were achieved sometime in their historic past prior to European contact.

The credibility of these traditions ^{has} ~~have~~ not been altogether accepted by 'Western' historians. More often than not they have been greeted skeptically and with the viewpoint that such records may be, or may have been, polluted by influences after Western con-

tact, which were then incorporated into the traditions.

It cannot be said that such 'drafting' was not done by Polynesian Scribes and Historians but it does not disprove the validity or authenticity of the overall transcribed materials.

Recently, some of the recorded Maori Traditions have been scrutinized for authenticity and verification of source materials by scholars, who aimed to determine reliability of the accounts by confirmation through a recognized knowledgeable body of learning or tribe (Simmons and Biggs, 1970: The Sources of "The Lore of The Whare Wananga"), or with a concern for a more rectified proximation of genealogical characters and events of Maori History (Biggs, 1976: The Great New Zealand Myth): both works above have been included as source materials for this paper.

In "The Sources of 'The Lore'", the researchers were able to ascertain that a greater portion of the traditions could be corroborated with other New Zealand Tribes. Material that was found to be recorded only in the 'Lore' were considered to be "primary" matter from the source and author - Matorohanga, the Tohunga. Yet no case has been presented against the validity of this "primary" material. Similarly, the research done in "The Great New Zealand Myth" did not indicate that the 'myths' were not creditable, but only that the dates and characters of the said events of the traditions should be post-dated later than had previously been accepted. The method of ascertaining support for this change in dates ~~was~~ were based, the author claims, on what the traditions themselves have stated. Likewise, this method will be incorporated in con-

junction with the support of archaeological and linguistic evidence for the purpose of this paper.

Traditions to 'Ahu'

In Maori Traditions, journeys to Hawaii were frequently designated by reference to the island of 'Ahu'; a name which Emerson explains, is "the substantive form of the word that has been separated from the article 'o' to which it becomes joined to form the proper name of the island now called Oahu." [Emerson, 1955:190.]

It is a name which is not associated solely with the Hawaiian Islands but may also be found in two other areas of Polynesia. First, as the name for an island known as "Ahuahu" in the Bay of Plenty, South Island, New Zealand, and second, as an ancient name for Mangaia - which was called "A'ua'u" in the ancient past [Smith, 1991:301.]. But Maori references to 'Ahu' of the Hawaiian Islands are commonly related in association to relative directions or proximity to the other main islands of the group i.e. Maui, Hawaii, Maui-Taha, Maui-Pae.

The earliest appearance of this name in Maori Traditions is in association with the navigator named Irapanga, who is claimed in the Genealogies of Rarotonga [See: Genealogy of Rarotonga, p. (iii)] as one of their ancestors who lived about A.D. 690.

The two Rarotongan Genealogical lists do not agree on an exact date as to the period of Irapanga. One list places him in A.D. 590, the other in A.D. 790. The average of the two dates, at 20 years per generation, has given the mean of A.D. 690.

The Maori have also claimed him as an ancestor and credit him with the peopling of "Hawaii, Maui and the other islands there." The traditions mention his name only in conjunction with the initial settlement of Hawaii. The account relates:

"No nga wakatupuranga i a Irapanga me ona uri ka heke mai a Irapanga me ona tamariki me ona hapu. E ono nga waka kau mai ki Ahu. Koia nei te putake mai o nga tangata o Hawaiki, o Maui me etahi atu motu i reira. [Smith, 1915:20.]

On the increasing of Irapanga and his descendants, Irapanga migrated with his children and subtribes. There were six canoes that landed on Ahu. That is the origin of the people of Hawaiki, Maui and other islands in those parts." [Trns. Simmons, 19-76:341.]

At the present time, the date A.D. 690 in comparison to the earliest genealogical chronologies (A.D. 950 - Moa Hunter arrival, Suggs, 1959:765) and archaeological dates (A.D. 1125 - carbon-14 of Moa Hunters, Wairau site, Suggs, 1959:765), imply that Irapanga lived in a period before settlement of New Zealand by, either, the Moa Hunters or the Maori, and that the approximation of his lifetime designates that he existed during a time when outward movements or migrations were being made from Tahiti or the Marquesas to, at least, Hawaii, Easter Island and the Cook Islands.

The plausibility of a voyage, in tradition, by an Irapanga is increased when one considers the fact that he is named as a voyager to Hawaii and, yet, is regarded as an ancestor of Rarotonga (Cook Islands). This, in relation to the theoretical dates of the migrations derived at by archaeology and linguistics, show Hawaii and the Cook Islands as, peculiarly, destinations of that outward migratory period from the Marquesas and Tahiti at, almost, the same period of that voyagers life time.

Smith translates the line, "E ono nga waka kau mai ki Ahu": 'They came away from Tahiti nui in six canoes and landed on Ahu (Oahu)'. But the Maori version does not mention the name of 'Tahiti nui' - an assertion of Smith's own doing for which he has been criticized ~~for~~ by several historians of the past. The record leaves no doubt, though, that the place mentioned in this tradition is indeed Oahu of the Hawaiian Islands, because of the associated reference of Maui to Hawaii.

There is no other 'Ahu' in all of Polynesia within relative closeness to islands named 'Hawaii' and 'Maui' near one another, at least unknown to me, that can be taken to be the island named in this tradition, denoting that the Maori perceived this 'Ahu' as belonging to a group as early as A.D. 690.

In another portion of the tradition, a correlating similarity in reference to the importance of the point of departure to the south, exists in close parallel to the Hawaiian Traditions.

The Maori Text relates:

"I mua atu o te haerenga mai o Tainui, o Te Arawa, me era atu waka katoa, ka uiui ratou ki nga Tohunga, mehemea pewhea nga kupu a Kupe i wakatakoto ai ki roto i Te Whare Wananga i Hui Te Rangiora i Hawaiki. Ka whakaaturia e nga Tohunga ko te kore-ro a Kupe me takoto te ihu o te waka ki Aotearoa, mai i Ahuahu (koia te roanga atu o taua ingoa, na etahi iwi ko Ahu tonu) me heke tika mai ki te Tohunga mai i Maui-taha i Maui-pae. Enei he mahanga enei motu e rua; Kei waho mai o Ahuahu. Me pou tonu te ihu o te waka ki o Tonga. Pera ano o Hawaiki. [Smith, 1915:197.]

Before the departure of Tainui, Te Arawa and other canoes, the people [they] had inquired of the Tohungas [Priests, learned men] as to what Kupe had laid down in the Whare Wananga [House of learning] named Hui Te Rangiora at Hawaiki [Raia-tea] (as to the direction of New Zealand). The Tohunga replied, "Kupe's words were in laying a course for the canoe to Aotearoa from Ahuahu (which is the full name [This is the continuation of the aforementioned name] though some call it Ahu [Ahu's people belong to one nation]) come straight to the south from Maui-taha and Maui-pae. These are twin islands outside of Ahuahu. The bows of the

canoe must be directed straight to the south and the same course leads on to Hawaiki [Raiatea]."

[Erns., Smith, 1919:215]

The Hawaiian Traditions relate, specifically, the name of the place that was used as the point of departure and arrivals when going to or coming from Kahiki, as follows:

In the Hawaii Loa Legend:

"After Hawaii Loa was dead and gone, in the time of Kunuiakea, came Pahitinui from Tahiti and landed at KA LAE I KAHIKI (the southwest point of Kahoolawe, a cape often made by people coming from or going to Tahiti)." [Fornander, 1919:281.]

In the Legend of Aukelenuiaiku, we find reference to this area as an arrival point when coming from Tahiti:

"Apua and his brother (Aukekenuiaiku) came from Kahiki. They came and landed on Lana'i, on the east side of the Pali of Kaholo (Palikaholo). The name of the place now is Kaneapua (location correct; it is derived from the name of Apua)." [Emory, 1969:12.]

Malo [1898:7] verifies this promontory as a place of departure, saying:

"Then Kila was grown up he in turn sailed on an expedition to Tahiti, taking his departure, it is said, from the western point of Kahoolawe, for which reason that cape is to this day called KE ALA I KAHIKI (the route to Tahiti)."

and in the tradition concerning Laamaikahiki, we have recorded:

"It is also claimed that for a time Laamaikahiki

lived on Maui, a fact commemorated in the name Kahiki nui, where he resided; but driven from there by dislike for the violence of the wind, he moved to Kahoolawe and took his final departure for Tahiti from the western extremity of the island.
[Emerson, 1893:23. MHS Paper.]

The lines of significance of the Maori record with those of the Hawaiian Traditions are, 'In laying a course for the canoe to Aotearoa from Ahuahu...come straight to the south from Maui-taha and Maui-pae. These are twin islands outside of Ahuahu. The bows of the canoe must be directed straight to the south and the same course leads on to Hawaiki.'

Andersen [1969:41.] records the names of Maui-taha and Maui-pae to mean 'Maui to the side.' Reed [1973:54,71.] defines "pae" to mean 'region' and "taha" as 'side'. Williams [1971] defines "pae" as, 'region, direction, lie across, lie on one side' and "taha" as, 'side, often used merely to indicate proximity, pass on one side, go by the shore, regarded from the water'.

All of these definitions tend to describe the islands of Lana'i and Kahoolawe more so than any other islands in the vicinity, because the implication of the names, Maui-taha and Maui-pae, is that there is an island named Maui in close proximity to them. Lana'i is only eight miles west from Maui. Kahoolawe is six miles south of Maui and fifteen miles southeast of Lana'i.

Both islands are relatively close in size too. Lana'i is 17 miles long and 12 miles at its greatest width, with an area of 140 square miles [Emory, 1969:4.], while Kahoolawe is 10.85 miles long and 6.6 miles wide, with a surface area of only 44 square miles.

[McAllister, 1971:4.]

The differences in length and width is small enough, and their shapes similar enough for them to be considered "twin islands".

Hawaiian Traditions have also stated that the islands of Lana'i and Kahoolawe were usually under the rulership of whichever sovereign had control over Maui. Moloka'i, on the other hand, changed hands between the chiefs of Oahu and Maui and is too long to be identified as a "twin" of any of the islands in the vicinity. Perhaps the terms, 'Maui-taha' and 'Maui-pae' are an indication of the political condition of the period of that time, when Maui held sway over Lana'i and Kahoolawe.

Similarly, we must ask, why did the Maori select the "twin islands" in the chain as the point from which to take their departure to New Zealand? Acknowledging, too, that this same course lead on to Hawaiki, the ancient Rangiatea?

Here is a point of parallel significance with the Hawaiian Traditions: that departures to Tahiti were taken from, precisely, two islands near Maui when voyaging to the south or southeast.

We know that the orientation to Kahiki was in a southerly direction as a result of records left behind; such as for example, the directions by Kaneakahoowaha which inform us:

"If you sail for the Kahiki groups, you will discover new constellations and strange stars over the deep ocean.

When you arrive at the "Piko o Wakea" (Equator), you will lose sight of the Hoku-paa (North Star); and then "Newe" will be the southern guiding star,

and the constellation of "Mumu" will stand as the guide above you. [Ku'oko'a, July, 1865.]

The Maori Tradition accentuates, "come straight to the south, the bows of the canoe MUST be directed Straight to the SOUTH on sailing to Hawaiki (Rangiatea), to Aotearoa from Maui-taha and Maui pae."

The Hawaiian Traditions also state that when a voyage returned from Kahiki, the voyagers landed on the southern side of, either, Lana'i (Aukelenuiaiku at Kaneapu) or southwest point of Kahoolawe (Tahiti Nui in the Hawii Loa Legend). The only other point of landing mentioned in the traditions, of importance, is Ka'u, Hawaii, where (besides Hawaii Loa) Laamaikahiki arrived on his second trip to these islands. All the points associated with the traditions of coming from or going to "Kahiki", though, stress 'the south'.

Even the ancient name for Kahoolawe, supposedly KOHE MALA-MALAMA (Lit. Bright Vagina), which - according to some - has derived its name from the island itself because it, seemingly, looks like a vagina and is associated with KAULEONANAHOA, the phallic rock of Moloka'i, may be a corruption of KO HEMA LAMALAMA (The south's light); a meaning that is more logical and agreeable with the traditions concerning the importance of this island and Lana'i in relation to the channel, KE ALA I KAHIKI, and the voyages to and from the south.

Today the name "Kahiki" has been commonly accepted to have

meant (in the recent past) any foreign land or place. But it originally meant "east"; a term that is still in use today in the Hawaiian Language as an indication of an easterly direction. Such as the expression, "Ka hikina o ka la (the coming of the sun, sunrise, from an easterly direction), or Hikina 'Akau (Northeast), Hikina Hema (Southeast) and Hikina (East).

It would be absurd to believe that the ancient people, attentive as they were to the details of their environmental surroundings and so capable of minute observations - such that their system of the classification of species of plant and animal biota were comparable to that of modern science today - would be unable to determine the meaning of "Kahiki" or had only one word to describe all other places outside of the Hawaiian Chain itself.

Position of Maui-taha

Again in Maori Tradition, reference is made to 'Ahu' - but in this instance - in relation to Maui-taha in the record of Tamatea Ariki Nui's arrival in the 'Pakitimu' at Muri Whenua:

"Kua paku hoki te rongo kua tae mai a Tamatea Ariki Nui ki Muri Whenua. Ko te take i nui ai te rongo o Tamatea e haere i roto i nga iwi kua tae mai i mua atu i a ia. He tino tangata ariki taua tangata no Hawaiki tae mai ki Rangiatea, ki Rarotonga, Me Maui-taha, tetahi motu kei te taha mauru mai o Ahu. He ingoa hoki era motu no ona ake Tipuna, a

Maui-taha, a Maui-pae. [Smith, 1915:234.]

The news of Tamatea Ariki Nui's arrival at Muri Whenua (North Cape) had resounded over the land. The reason why this news had spread to all people was that his fame was known before his arrival, to the effect that he was a very great chief of Hawaiki, of Rangiatea, of Rarotonga, besides Maui-taha, an island on the west side of Ahu (Oahu). The names (of these islands) were derived from his ancestors i.e. Maui-taha, Maui-pae." [Trns. Smith, 1915:247.]

The closest island 'on the west side of Ahu' is the island of Kaua'i - located 61 miles in a north westerly direction from Oahu. But Kaua'i could, certainly, not be the island intended in the traditions because - by definition - Maui-taha is 'Maui to the side', 'often used to indicate proximity', and also because, Kaua'i is too distant from Maui to be referred to as "Maui-taha", without first having to account for the island of Moloka'i which is much closer..

We learn, too, that Moloka'i, Kaua'i and Lana'i were known to the Maori and Rarotongan mariners as Moro ai, Tava'i, and Nga-ngai, respectively [Smith, 1921:173.] Nanai is the older form of the name Lana'i. [Legend of Hiiaka, p.115.]

If Kaua'i were taken into consideration with Niihau, to conform with the Maori designation of "twin islands, it too would be

too distant from Maui to be 'Maui-pae', 'lie across, lie on one side or region', and too small to be a twin of the island of Ka-ua'i. Therefore, the only islands in question that fit the description of "twin islands" - and were within close proximity of Maui to be (by definition) 'Maui to the side', are Lana'i and Kahoolawe. Likewise, the closest "twin islands" to Oahu are, still, these same two islands.

The only island in the Hawaiian Chain directly west of any other, is Lana'i - but west of Maui and not Oahu! The Maori Tradition errs in this respect. Lana'i is the 'Maui-taha' of their traditions, because it is the only other island (besides Kahoolawe) that can be regarded as one of the "twins".

The Hawaiian Traditions recount that Hawaii Loa arrived at KA LAE I KAHIKI; that Kila sailed to Kahiki from the western point of Kahoolawe, that Laamaikahiki departed from the western extremity of the island of Kahoolawe, and that Aukelenuiaiku had arrived at Palikaholo, at the southeast end of Lana'i.

Both the western point or extremity of Kahoolawe and Palikaholo, Lana'i border the famous channel, which is defined in "Place Names of Hawaii" as: "The channel between Lana'i and Kahoolawe through which voyages to foreign lands (Kahiki) were begun; western point of Kahoolawe, also known as LAE O KE ALA I KAHIKI (Point of the way to Tahiti)."

All of these accounts above, have been speaking of the same two islands mentioned in the Maori Traditions as 'Maui-taha' and Maui-pae. In spite of the error that Maui-taha is referred to as being west of 'Ahu rather than of Maui, itself, the traditions

still centralize on the same place!

Hawaiian Group

To determine whether or not the ancient Maoris really knew the difference between the Hawaiki of the Hawaiian Group from those of the Society Group and New Zealand, evidence would need to be presented in their favor. It appears that, at least, in one of their traditions it was known. The record of the Whare Wananga has preserved:

"Ka mea atu etahi, "E Kupe! penei pea te rahi me Hawaiki nei? Me Rarotonga, me Rangiatea me era atu motu? Ka mea atu a Kupe, "E! Ko Hawaiki nei ra to tatou motu rahi ake i enei katoa e ki na koutou. Ko tenei, he motu rahi-roa atu raua tokorua i a tatou i kite nei! [Smith, 1915:198.]

Others asked, "O Kupe! Is the size of the land the same as Hawaiki? (Tahiti) or like Rarotonga? and Rangiatea? (Raiatea) and other islands? Kupe replied, "Hawaiki (Hawaii) is the island we know of as bigger than all those you mention, but these two islands (New Zealand) are bigger than any we have seen." [Trns. Smith, 1915:216.]

The line, "E Kupe! penei pea te rahi me Hawaiki nei? Me Rarotonga, me Rangiatea me era atu motu?", literally says: "O Kupe! is the magnitude perhaps like this of this Hawaiki? With Rarotonga

with Raiatea and those islands? [Prns. Mine.]

In the Maori version, the "nei" after "Hawaiki" 'is used after words and phrases to denote proximity to or connection with the speaker' [Williams 1971:220] and indicates that the speaker is presently in the Hawaiki being spoken of. "Me" 'denotes concomitance or concurrence in time' [Williams:199], signifying, that in relation or association to this Hawaiki, is Rarotonga, Raiatea and other islands in the vicinity compared: signaling that this Hawaiki is in the Society Group.

The sentence, "E! Ko Hawaiki nei ra to tatou motu rahi ake i enei katoa e ki na koutou.", states: 'This Hawaiki (pictured) (Yonder) is larger than all these you mention!'

This time, the "nei" after "Hawaiki" means 'in animated narratives, suggests that the speaker has the events he is telling pictured before him' [Williams, 1971:220] and that the "ra" following 'simply denotes that the thing spoken of is not near to or connected with the speaker or person spoken to' [Williams:319]. Thus, the Hawaiki spoken of here is mentally pictured by the speaker in comparison to the Hawaiki of the Society Islands and with the one which follows in the narrative.

"Ko tenei, he motu rahi roa atu raua tokorua i a tatou i kite nei!" says: 'As for this one, they (two) are larger islands than we have seen!'

"Ko" 'directs attention to the subject about which something is about to be said, when the words "as for" may be supplied in English.' [Williams:121.] "Atu" indicates 'a direction or motion

onwards or away from the speaker in reference to, either, time or space' [Williams:20]. "Laua", the pronoun meaning 'they (dual)', implies that the Hawaiki in topic is - in comparison - composed of two main islands.

Therefore, this second line reveals that this Hawaiki spoken of is away from the speaker and those spoken to. In contrast to the other two Hawaikis, it is composed of two main parts and is much larger; and is also far away from the Society Group.

The only other Hawaiki of Maori Traditions larger than Hawaii (to which the contrast is made), is composed of two main islands and is also distant from Raiatea and Rarotonga, is New Zealand.

In another part of the 'Lore', the position of Hawaii is made evident in relation to Maui, the origin of the name "Hawaiki rangi" is disclosed, and record of the departure of spirits from Maui-nui and Maui-iti parallel the idea in Hawaiian Tradition of the spirits that inhabited Lana'i and Kahoolawe - until the arrival of Kaula-lau (A.D.1400) [Emory, 1969:12] to that place, who rid the islands of them while exiled there. The record bequeaths:

"Ko Hawaiki kei te taha mauru ma tonga o Maui. Ko te ingoa tuatahi o Maui ano. No te wa i a Uenukuran-gi raua ko Tane herepi, ko Tane heremaro ka ki-tea e Roere e hoki ana nga wairua i te moana, e tangi ana, e waiata ana etahi e whakatangi ko au-au ana e poroporoaki ana ki Maui-iti, ki Maui-nui, ki Hawaiki i Irihia i Te Hono i Wairua.

Katahi a Uenukurangi ka mea, "Kati! Me hua te
ingoa o Maui-nui ko Hawaiki-rangi. [Smith, 1915:
24-25.]

Hawaiki (Hawaii) lies to the southwest (really south east) from Maui. * The name was once that of Maui. And in the times of Uenukurangi, Taneherepi and Taneheremaro, Roere discovered that the spirits returned from there across the ocean, crying and singing, some playing flutes, and all the while bidding farewell to (the islands) Maui-iti and Maui-nui. Roere thought that these spirits from Maui-nui were on their way to (the ancient) Hawaiki in Irihia at Te Hono i Wairua.

Then Uenukurangi said, "Enough! We will change the name of Maui-nui and call (that island) Hawaiki rangi (which we learn was the old name of Hawaii island of the Hawaiian Group). [Smith, 1915: 27-28.]

"E poroporoaki ana ki Maui-iti, ki Maui-nui, ki Hawaiki i Irihia i Te Hono i Wairua" seems to say: 'bidding farewell to Maui-iti, Maui-nui, Hawaiki at Irihia in Te Hono i Wairua. Smith declares that Roere thought that the spirits were on their way to Irihia (a place he considers to be a continental homeland of the ancient Maori) from Maui-nui.

* Omitted in Smith's translation. Translation mine.

This registry relates that the relative position of Hawaii, at least the direction south from Maui, was known to the Maori. It has also informed^{us} that Hawaii was known as Maui-nui before the change in name to Hawaiki-rangi, and that the procurement^{of} of a belief in spirits associated with the islands of Hawaii - even if not the same two islands - appears curiously alike to insinuate a pre-meation of a 'local Hawaiian narrative' with the Maori saga.

Judging by the sequel, if the genealogical measure is of some value, the period of Uenukurangi connotes that this tale (of the spirits) was, also, known to the Maori by A.D. 960; and infers⁷ that a period of contact would have ~~had~~^{had to} occurred before this date for them to have acquired it.

Conclusion

This study has been an attempt to ascertain that a relative reliability exists in the Maori traditions concerning the contact made between Hawaii and New Zealand. The assistance of both, archaeological and linguistic evidence has aided the traditional accounts in giving a hypothetical reconstruction of the period of time when the documented events occurred, explaining also the probable source from where the Maori acquired their knowledge of the Hawaiian Group.

The archaeological evidence hints that the possibility of such contact was not totally inconceivable. Such finds as the bird snaring perch, the uprights, the adzes of Necker and Nihoa, the fishhooks and the ovate house at Halawa, Moloka'i - although limited in quantity - lends credence to the possibility of Maori

permeation, whether direct or indirect, at an early period in Hawaiian history.

The archaeological dates, themselves, assign an approximate period ~~at~~ when similar incoming influences arrived in the islands of Hawaii, dispersing to various other sites in the chain within the period between A.D. 470 and A.D. 830.

The earliest archaeological dates from New Zealand (Wairau Bar, North Island) of, both, the Moa-Hunters and Maori - estimated at A.D. 1100 - suggest that Maori Culture was not yet in existence at this date; at least not the distinct culture that we call "Maori" today. Such a concept is, basically, one of Western influence because the traditions refer to the people of East Polynesia (wholely) as 'one race' or 'one nation'. The Hawaiian concept, "He Lahui Kanaka Kakou" and the Maori expression, "He Iwi ta-hi tatou" are examples of this.

Linguistic data discloses a remarkable closeness in dates, resulting from the comparisons of vocabulary agreements that have been based on the amount of language change, time involved and direction of spread.

The combined data gives evidence of movement in Eastern Polynesia from Tahiti and the Marquesas to the Cook Islands, Hawaii, Mangareva and Easter island between A.D. 500 - 1000. But the probability that initial settlement in Hawaii was made from the Marquesas, instead of from Tahiti, would theoretically establish a range (according to Emory) for settlement between 267 B.C to A.D. 103. The latter date is close to the time period of Hawaii Loa and the carbon-14 dates from South Point, Hawaii.

Emory's linguistic comparisons have suggested that there was a period of time, before the Maori departed for New Zealand and (yet) still after initial settlement of Hawaii, when cultural contacts were still occurring between Hawaii and Tahiti. The Maori, though, were in transit between Tahiti and New Zealand. This would have to be the period when they/ either/ made the actual voyages to Hawaii and back to Tahiti or else accumulated the 'Lore' from hearsay.

The Maori Traditions concerning the voyages to 'Ahu' have established that they occurred "in the times of Irapanga" (A.D. 690) and "the time of Uenukurangi" (A.D. 960). Both of these dates fall within the range of the dispersal date of A.D. 500; claimed by linguistics and archaeology to be the dispersal dates to, at least, Hawaii and the Cook Islands, and both precede the archaeological date for initial settlement in New Zealand - A.D. 1100.

The Traditions themselves hint at a familiarity of the islands of Hawaii and their location, knowledge of a point of departure that was important to the Hawaiians and a belief in spirits associated with Hawaii, even if not the same two islands, and a concept of the relationship of size and distances between Hawaii, Tahiti and New Zealand.

Even the Hawaii Loa Legend, in contrast to the Maori Traditions, show points of common interest: 1). Each tells of a migration directly from the ancient homeland to the Hawaiian Islands, 2). Each claims credit for the peopling of Hawaii, 3). Both indicate the significance of the same departure point to the south, 4). Each has

traditions of spirits associated with these islands, and 5). Both Hawaii Loa and Irapanga flourished in key periods of the migrations to Hawaii.

In essence, the data from archaeology and linguistics in conjunction with the traditions themselves, show a close agreement in dates with the said migrations and the lifetime of the voyagers involved. The archaeological dates for South point verify this place as one of the earliest sites settled and, thus, gives credibility to that reference in the Hawaii Loa Legend as reliable. The importance of Lana'i and Kahoolawe in Hawaiian traditions, is also a point of significance mentioned in the Maori Traditions, but is remembered in terms of its proximity to Maui.

The familiarity, although not with precision, of the islands of Hawaii is a remarkable record maintained by the Maori, that indicates a relatively reliable account of history, once only retained by memory.

Pomare Genealogy in Tahiti [Henry, 1928:247-250]

1. Uru (t)	Hina Tumū Ro'o (w)	'Iri Te Apu Ra'i (t)
2. 'Iri Te Apu Ra'i	Te Heheu	Te Vae Ari'i
3. Te Vae Ari'i	Te Tapu	'Imi Toa
4. 'Imi Toa	Te Peua Nua	Marama i Te Atua
5. Marama i Te Atua	Noho Ae	Tuitui
6. Tuitui	Roro Tai	Ra'i Te Tumū
7. Ra'i Te Tumū	Hina Te Unu	Ra'i Te Papa
8. Ra'i Te Papa	Hina Tea	Ra'i Te Meremere
9. Ra'i Te Meremere	Hina Tu a Uta	Ra'i Te Hotahota
10. Ra'i Te Hotahota	Hina Tu a Tai	Ra'imateiteniuha'mea'afane
11. Ra'imate-	Mau Tu	Moe itiiti
12. Moe itiiti	Fa'afaro	Moe Te Re'are'a
13. Moe Te Re'are'a	Ti'ara'a 'ura	Moe Te Ra Uri
14. Moe Te Ra Uri	Fai Mano	Hiro
15. Hiro	Vai Tu Ma Ria	(1) Maramatoaifenuaura, also named: Tunuipaiatepaora (2) Pihoitemarotaino'a
16. Marama-	Ma'aputeroro'opu'ore	Fa'aniti Tamatoa 'Ura (Tamatoa I)
17. Tamatoa I	Vairaumatitetuanui- tahura'i	Hoa Ta Tama
18. Hoa Ta Tama	Ha'amahea	Fata
19. Fata	'Uti'uti Rei	Ro'o
20. Ro'o	Vai Pu'a	Ho'a
21. Ho'a	Vai Tea	Ta'ahue
22. Ta'ahue	Motu Ma	Ru'utia (t)
23. Ru'utia ²	Vai Pura'a	Hu'ui

Pomare Genealogy (continued):

24. Hu'ui	Tupu Heiva	Ra'a Uri
25. Ra'a Uri	'Are Te Moe	Tu
26. Tu	Pupa 'Ura i Vai Ahu	Tautu
27. Tautu	Teunuha'eha'a(aiata)	Tamatoa II
28. Tamatoa II	Te Ao Inani'a	Ari'i Ma'o Ari'i Rua Rofai
29. Rofai	Marama	Tamatoa III
30. Tamatoa III	Maihe'a	Te Tu Paia
31. Te Tu Paia	Teu (also named: <u>Tu-nui a'e i te atua</u>)	Pomare I (1734; also named: Tu, Vaira'atoa)
32. Pomare I	Itia (1st wife - no issue) Tetuanuireiaite- ra'iatea (2nd wife)	Pomare II
33. Pomare II	Terito o tera'i- teremoemoe	Pomare III
34. Pomare III	(Reigned til death and was succeeded by sister, Aimata, as Queen	Pomare IV)
35. Pomare IV (w)	Tapoa (No children-divorced) Te Nani'a	Pomare V (Born 1839)
36. Pomare V (Last King of Ta-hiti)	Te Ma rii a Te Uru Ra'i Joanna Marau Ta'aroa Te Pau	(Children died)

(i cont.)

Two Rarotongan Genealogies of Irapanga

1. Te Tumu - Papa (f) (95 Gens.)	Te Tumu - Papa (f) (93 Gens.)
2. Te Nga taito ariki	Te Nga taito ariki
3. Mua	Mua
4. Unga	Eanga
5. Engi	Maina
6. Niua	Macata
7. Tamore	Makaro
8. Ru-roa	Te Marama
9. Ru-poto	Te Eanga-ki-te-ao
10. Ru-maeaea	Tangata kato
11. Ru-tapatapa i aa	Te Atu tangata
12. Ueuenuku	Te Atu te tangata
13. Ueuerangi	Te Atu te ki
14. Tu-ei	Te Atu
15. Maru i te rangi	Tiki
16. Noa	Paito rangi ngunguru
17. Papu	Paito rangi ioio
18. Angaia ki te rangi	Paito kuru angiangi
19. Tangaroa maitu rangi	Paito kuru ma rakamea
20. Tangarop tiputa pe	Vai takere
21. Te Pou o te rangi	Te Tarava
22. Maro	Te Tarava enua
23. Te Tupua	Te Rua enua
24. Ara nui	Rua mata iko
25. Runa	Ara kapua
26. Ru	Te Ara o nga atua
27. Aio	Toi
28. Peke to io	Punga verevere
29. Peke to ake	Manu
30. Peke tea tama	Manu kaiaia
31. Ia tea tama	Manu kavakevake
32. Ia te po	Ore
33. Ia te ao	Turanga
34. Ia mama	Rongo rua
35. Ia te ata	Rira
36. Ia tupu ranga	<u>Te Irapanga</u> (A.D. 800)
37. Ia makaro	Tu tarangi
38. Ia tangata	Etoi
39. Tangata nui	Etai
40. Tangata rai	Emaunga
41. Tangata katoa	Erangi
42. I te katoaranga	Ui tamua
43. I a te atu	Ui taringa
44. Tiki	Ui te rangi ora
45. Paito rangi ngunguru	Te Rangi
46. Paito rangi ngangana	Ata o te rangi
47. Poro ki matangi	Papa o te rangi
48. <u>Te Irapanga</u> (A.D. 960)	Te Paku o te rangi
49. Tu tarangi	Te Uka o te rangi
50. Tangaroa maro uka	Uu

(Rarotongan Genealogy cont.)

51. Tu takapu a uta	Ane	
52. Tu takapu a tai	Paipu	
53. Te Arunga	Puna ariki (ct.)	Tu ei puku
54. Te Araro		Kationgia
55. Te Atoru aitu		Kapua
56. Te Atoru ake na		Atonga
57. Aitu		Te Arutanga a nuku
58. Ao Keu		Te Arutanga a rangi
59. Ao rai		Te Amaru ariki
60. Ao ki rupe		Te Amaru enua
61. Ao ki vananga		Te Uenga ariki
62. Ao ki atu		Te Uenga enua
63. Raki tu		Kau tea
64. Raki roa		Kau mango
65. Te Ariki tapu kura		Vai iti
66. Moe itiiti		Kau kura
67. Moe rekareka		Kau ngaki
68. Moe metua	(circa 1250	Pangiaa hui
69. Moe tara uri (circa 1250)		
70. Iro		

Abbreviations

HHS Hawaiian Historical Society
JPS Journal of the Polynesian Society
PAR Pacific Anthropological Record

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<u>Fornander's</u>	<u>Kamakau's</u>	<u>Malo's</u>
1. <u>Kukalaniehu</u>	Kukalaniehu	
2. Wakea	Wakea	Wakea
3. Haloa	Haloa	Haloa
4. Waia	Waia	Waia
5. Hinanalo	Hina-ualo	Hinanalo
6. Nanakehili	Kakai-hili	Nanakehili
7. Wailoa	Wai-loa	Wailoa
8. Kio	Kio	Kio
9. Ole	Ole	Ole
10. Pupue	Pupue	Pupue
11. Manaku	Manaku	Manaku
12. Kahiko	Kahiko	Lukahakoa
13. Luanui	Lu-ka-hakona	Luanuu
14. Kii	Luanuu	Kahiko
15. Nanaulu	Kii	Kii
16. Ulu	Ulu	Ulu
17. Nanaiea	Nanaiea	Nanaie
18. Nanailani	Nana-aia-lani	Nanailani
19. Waikulani	Wai-ku-lani	Waikulani
20. Kuheleimoana	Ku-hele-i-moana	Kuheileimoana
21. Konohiki	Kohohiki	Konohiki
22. Wawena	Wa-wena	Wanena
23. Akalana	Akalana	Akalana
24. Mauiakalana	Maui-kalana	Maui
25. Nanamaoa	Nana-maoa	Nanamaoa
26. Nanakulei	Nana-ku-lei	Nanakulei
27. Nanakaoko	Nana-kaoko	Nanakaoko
28. Heleipawa	Ka-pawa	Nanakuae
29. Hulumalailani	Hele-i-pawa	Kapawa
30. Aikane	Ai-kanaka	Aikanaka
31. Puna	Puna-i-mua	Hema
32. Kahai	Hema	Kahai
33. Wahieloa	(Branches Off)	Wahieloa
34. Laka		Laka
35. Luanuu		Luanuu
36. Kamea		Pohukaina
37. Pohukaina		Hua
38. Hua		Pau
39. Pau		Huanuiikalailani
40. Huanuiikalailai		Paumakua
41. Paumakua		Haho
42. Haho.		Palena
43. Palena		Hanalaanui
44. Hanalaanui		Lanakawai
45. Lanaakawai		Laau
46. Laau		Pili
47. Pili		Koa

(The Hawaiian Genealogies continued)

48. Koa	Ole
49. Ole	Kukohou
50. Kukohu	Kaniohi
51. Kaniuhi	Kanipahu
52. Kanipahu	Kalapana
53. Kalapana	Kahaimoelea
54. Kahaimoeleaikaaikupou	Kalaunuiohua
55. Kalaunuiohua	Kuaiwa
56. Kuaiwa	Kohoukapu
57. Kahoukapu	Kauhola
58. Kauholanuimahu	Kiha
59. Kiha	Liloa
60. Liloa	(ends here)
61. Umi	
62. Kealiiokalaloa	
63. Kukailani	
64. Makakaualii	
65. Keawenuiaumi	
66. Kanaloakuaana	
67. Keakealanikane	
68. Iwikauikaua	
69. Kanaloakapulehu	
70. Kaneikauaiwilani	
71. Keawe	
72. Heeumoku	
73. Kekela	
74. Kalanikupuapaikalaninui	
75. <u>Kamehameha I</u>	
(Death of Kamehameha-1819)	